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April 13, 1955

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The Honorable Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Allen:

I believe you will be interested in the correspondence which I have received from Colonel Istvan Meszaros, a leader of the Hungarian Veteran League, the militant anti-Communist Hungarian exile organization, commenting on that section of my recent mission report which deals with the effective utilization of refugees and exiles from nations now under the Communist yoke. A copy is enclosed for your information.

Kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Julius Klein

Julius Klein/mbk
Enclosures

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Julius Klein

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Camp Rum, 11th January, 1955.

D E A R S I R :

We were very glad, when we read on the first page of the "Tiroler-Tageszeitung" from 10th January, your proposition, what you made for the USA senate, that they build up national armies, with their own national flags and commanders, from the soldiers they emigrated from the East-countries, they are now occupied from the Russians.

I was 30 years officer and colonel of the Hungarian army, so it is not necessary that I tell for you the international worth and the historical effects of your proposition, I want only mention, that your proposition will have a big result as well by the emigrated anticommunist soldiers as by the people behind the "iron curtain". The practical performance of this proposition will compare the moral effect and it will result the destruction of armies of the from the communists occupied countries.

The practical performance of this proposition will injure more by the communist armies, as the propaganda of the west radios, for what you pay a lot of money long years.

We emigrated soldiers wait for this liberal proposition 10 years, and we are sure that the effect of this proposition will be compared by the people behind the "iron curtain". We are sure, that your proposition Sir will excel all diplomatic actions and the Russians will be affraid of it as of the atom-bombs.

Please Sir allowed for us soldiers, they are emigrated to Austria, that we send our best wishes to your proposition, what only they can consider they lost everything, our home, our family and our existence, and whose relatives the communist either killed or put them in jails or in concentration camps, or to the mines in Sibiria. With other words, only they know the communism, they go through the terror of the communist and not they, they occupied with these problems only theoretical. Therefore please Sir allow for us, they make duty by the 25th Transportation Truck Battalion as Camp Guards 5 years, -what guards all U.S. officers, they inspected the camp, called the best Guards of Austria, -that we send for you our best wishes to your proposition and wish for you, that it find comprehension by the government and they build up pretty soon an anticommunist army.

I as the commander of the Hungarian Camp Guards, wish only that God saves you and your efforts, that we can liberate our country and our people from the communist very soon. Therefore I repeat, that your military proposition has a by worth.

The Hungarian Guards by the USFA can more consider the magnitude of your proposition, because the most of them are old Hungarian staff officers captains, 1st and 2nd lieutenants, reserve-officers, sergeants, and university trained people.

Believe us to remain yours very faithfully:

ISTVAN MESZAROS.
SFC

Sir,

Kindly accept my sincere thanks for your touching letter of 22, February.

We read with great interest and appreciation about your Report. Please, let me present my sincere acknowledgements for the well-done work,

We pray to God that the high leaders and supreme soldiers of U.S. and their Allies take this book with understanding, enthusiasm and deep patriotism in this important and decisive time of our history and to make use of it in the positive.

This would be an assurance not only for the future of the free Nations and for the hopeful development of their fates, but also for the unlucky nations of Central-Eastern Europe - among them also for our country, Hungary - which are suffering under Soviet oppression.

I express with deep feelings my gratitude on behalf of the whole Guard and on my own behalf for your very kind good wishes. We all were very pleased with them.

Please, let us allow to make use of your kind offer re, the Report and to ask for 100 copies of it for our considerable military organisation and the Guard. The Report would be very impressing and instigating in spiritual, moral and military respect, quite apart from propaganda.

In connection with that I would like to call your attention - with due reverence - to the fact that the Hungarian refugee soldiers established a "Hungarian Veteran League" earlier than any other prisoner nation, not only in Europe but also in all other countries. It is nowadays a world organisation having some 14,000 members.

The League is headed by a so called "Generals' Committee". One of the main leaders of this Committee is Gen Frank de Parkas of great military merits.

who - as far as I know - wrote to you, Sir, from Germany.

The aims of the League are very noble, patriotic and purely military: the liberation of our country from the Communism with the help of the Western Powers. For this reason the League collects all the reliable regular and reserve officers, subofficers, rank and file and all the civil youth which are willing to give their lives and blood for their country.

The League organised also the women folk for auxiliary services and there are plenty of them making unpaid services as district secretaries in all countries espec. in the U.S.

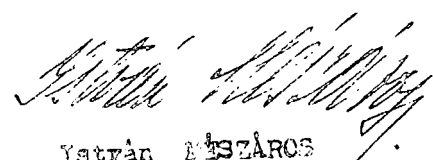
The League is absolutely free of politics. The only important point for the members is their militant anticommunist attitude. This circumstance gives account for the reasons why are there so many hidden attacks on the League from subversive elements on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The main purpose of these attacks is to debank the League morally and militarily in front of the Western Powers.

With the usual communist tactics they pick up some unfortunate happenings from the life of the League, enlarge them maliciously and communicate them with the authorities in order to destroy this anticommunist veteran community.

It is natural that - like in any other organisation of the world - there are lower elements in the League. But these elements are thrown out on the basis of thoroughgoing examination by the respective disciplinary committees. Apart from this, it is evident that such occasional happenings do not change the noble intentions of the bulk which is very valuable and of high moral and military quality. Most of them experienced the horrors of Communism personally.

For the benefit of the Guard, the members of the League and for Gen Franz de Farkas, please, Sir, send 100 copies of the Report.

Thanking you in advance for your kind favour and sending you, Sir, my dearest feelings and sincere appreciation.


István BÉSZÁROS
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COMMANDER GUARD

Gen. Julius Klein's European Mission

A JOB WELL DONE

Remarks of

Hon. Styles Bridges
of New Hampshire

Hon. Hubert Humphrey
of Minnesota

Hon. Estes Kefauver
of Tennessee

Hon. Stuart Symington
of Missouri

Hon. Alexander Wiley
of Wisconsin

in the

Senate of the United States

March 30 and April 1, 1955

*Not printed
at Government
expense*

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**Gen. Julius Klein's European Mission—A
Job Well Done**

REMARKS
OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 30 and April 1, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, ever since the Vandenberg resolution of June 1948, the United States has had, as its enunciated policy, cooperation with regional defense structures in Europe. The August 30, 1954, defeat of the EDC by the French Parliament caused worldwide consternation, and threatened disruption of our national defense strategy. In order to clearly determine the future direction of American action, reliable facts on European political and economic developments and attitudes were needed. With this in mind, our distinguished former colleague, now our Ambassador to the Philippine Republic, Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, as the then chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, consulted with me, as the then chairman of the full committee, in regard to sending Gen. Julius Klein, one of Illinois' most distinguished citizen-soldiers, to Europe as a special, nonpaid consultant to that subcommittee.

General Klein was well suited to the task assigned him. He has drawn upon his experience as a citizen-soldier, international correspondent, world traveler, editor, and public-relations consultant to bring to the Senate the results of his extensive study tour through Western Europe. A much-decorated combat veteran who served in the Pacific under General MacArthur and Admirals Nimitz and Halsey, General Klein was the author of the original Army combat

public-relations plan. This project, drafted before Pearl Harbor, was the foundation of our psychological warfare. After completing his tour of duty in the Pacific during World War II he served with distinction after the armistice in a military capacity as special assistant to the late Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, participating in the unification program which resulted in the establishment of the Department of Defense.

The late Senator Taft, long a personal friend of General Klein, had recommended to the Republican National Committee his appointment as National Defense Consultant, a post he held with distinction. General Klein is to be commended for his selfless devotion to country—in giving months of his time, at no cost to his Government, in the preparation of this report. General Klein's report was first published as a "Confidential Committee Print" and later it was made public. Certain classified portions of General Klein's findings have, of course, been deleted. Copies of the report have been made available to Members of the Congress and to executive department heads. Many of the recommendations of the Klein report have already been put into action. But much is still to be done. I commend to my colleagues, especially to members and staffs of the Committees on Foreign Relations, Armed Services, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and Appropriations, the study of this report and its recommendations which are so important to the welfare of our country. I am sure that General Klein will continue to cooperate with the various committees of Congress in personally appearing before such committees when needed.

Although General Klein's area of study was Europe, geographical and political realities impel the conclusion that security of this front is dependent not solely on factors within Europe but developments and conditions elsewhere. Thus, General Klein took advantage of his presence in Europe to speak with authorities there on extra-European problems which directly affect European policies and actions.

Many features of the report have particular current interest. Some of the policies recommended have already been adopted. I cite a few.

Our distinguished Vice President, Mr. RICHARD M. NIXON, who has done such an outstanding and commendable job in developing Latin-American friendship in his recent visit to our good neighbors to the south, stated that his Caribbean good-will tour convinced him that administration of the foreign-aid program would be greatly improved by putting it under the American ambassador in each country. Mr. Nixon added that technical aid under the command of ambassadors would produce better—and more economical—results for the American taxpayer.

What Vice President Nixon is urging is in consonance with a prime recommendation of General Klein's report that our overseas programs should be supervised by the Ambassador in each country rather than through an administrative labyrinth of separate and independent agencies. The Nation's press has taken particular note of this recommendation in both news and editorial columns, there apparently being widespread agreement with his proposal.

Other recommendations contained in General Klein's report are also under way. For example, President Eisenhower has recently designated Hon. Joseph Dodge as a high-level official to coordinate American overseas operations. General Klein had pointed out the great need for welding our diplomatic and administrative agencies overseas into a cohesive organization to minimize duplication and contradiction, under a top-level official designated for that purpose.

Legislation for the return of property vested during World War II in the Department of Justice or the Alien Property Custodian, in the form of the Kilgore-Dirksen bill, S. 995, has been introduced in this body, and a series of discussions between American and German officials on this topic has just been concluded. This is a subject to which the Klein report has contributed much in the way of clarification and meaning, especially in terms of America's relations with its Western ally, the Federal Republic of Germany, whose cooperation we seek, and whose friendship I know we have. The linking of West Germany to the European defense structure is a major recommendation of the administration.

General Klein's recommendations on international two-way travel and exchange of persons have already been

noted on the floor of the other body by Representative THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, and further work on this subject is being done there.

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor has already included in their record of hearings on Federal aid to education General Klein's conclusions on the necessity of scientific and technological training of American youth. The Klein report clearly perceives the dangers inherent in the comparatively rapid progress in such training by the Communist world, and sounds the alarm for American education.

The Klein recommendations on the strength of our Armed Forces have been reenunciated by key members of the Congress and the military.

While in Europe General Klein received many complaints from responsible European businessmen and opinion leaders who were desirous of visiting the United States for business, education or pleasure, and who found innumerable hindrances in the way of legal and administrative regulations and redtape to their visits to this country, visits which would have been beneficial to the United States. General Klein recommended that our present laws on this subject be reexamined with a view toward facilitating and expanding the opportunities for foreign travel to the United States with all safeguards of our interests.

The Public Relations News, the widely-read trade organ of the public relations profession, singled out for special comment and note General Klein's conclusions and recommendations on our overseas information program.

Assistant Secretary of State I. W. Carpenter, Jr. observed in a recent letter that the Department is proceeding with a planned revitalization of its foreign service and that the President recently proposed improving the salary levels of Foreign Service officers and employees, all goals outlined in General Klein's report. "Other portions of this study will be given careful consideration in the Department," Mr. Carpenter promised. Similar cooperation has been pledged—it might be noted—from other Executive agencies.

Also of particular interest to this body is the recommendation by General Klein that the "Congress maintain in Europe a professional staff of modest size, appointed by and responsible to congressional committees concerned with operations there." This staff would aid Mem-

bers of Congress visiting Europe on official missions, who would study and observe the administrative aspects of American programs in Europe and report to appropriate congressional committees at times when pertinent legislation is being considered, thus facilitating a continuous flow of information to the Congress.

Further recommendations of General Klein which merit study are: centering of off-shore procurement in a single operating agency, the General Services Administration; employment in a force under their own national banners of anti-Communist refugees from Iron Curtain countries; integration of the Middle East into the European defense structure; strengthening the United Nations; congressional consultation with General Douglas MacArthur; further inclusion of Spain in off-shore procurement programs and others.

When the Klein report was first released to the public recently, it was received with widespread editorial praise, both national and international, both in America's great metropolitan communities and in its smaller cities, representing the grass roots. For example, not only did the Miami Herald and the Boston Herald see fit to comment editorially on the recommendation that European statesmen should visit these shores more often instead of our Secretary of State making such frequent trips abroad, but journals in smaller communities—such as the Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register and the Asheville (N. C.) Times, to name but a few—singled out this Klein recommendation for editorial commendation.

The New York and Chicago American, in referring to the recommendation that General MacArthur be consulted on global defense policies, stated:

Not many Americans will reject the opinion of General Klein that "It is essential that counsel be taken with one who has consistently demonstrated a comprehensive grasp of the total problem that confronts us."

And the Chicago Sun-Times, while disagreeing with some of General Klein's findings, acknowledged his qualifications and ability to conduct the study mission given him by the Senate committee based upon his experience with military and national defense problems.

Not all editorial comment was favorable, however, as General Klein was soundly criticized by the Russian Communist organ Pravda.

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Many national and foreign leaders—both in and out of government—saw fit to commend General Klein's report. For example, Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, one of General Klein's former war commanders and one of our country's most distinguished naval heroes wrote:

First, I congratulate General Klein on such a complete and accurate account of affairs in Europe.

Second. Let me state that I am in accord with General Klein's observations and recommendations—particularly as regards—

(a) The unfortunate practice of bypassing our ambassadors abroad.

(b) Our unfortunate habit of talking abroad by visitors who are not responsible for the executive branch of our Government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point some of these fine commendations. I refer to the commendations of the report from Polish General Wladyslaw Anders and from such distinguished Americans as Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, Secretary of Air Harold Talbott, Assistant Secretary of the Army Hugh M. Milton, United States Information Agency Director Theodore C. Streibert, Ambassador John C. Hughes, journalist Herbert Bayard Swope, Past National Commander of the American Legion Edward A. Hayes and others. In these critical days of international tensions, we should make use of all sound information available.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, who led Poland's forces against Nazi Germany during World War II and who suffered betrayal and imprisonment at the hands of the Russians, wrote:

"I wish to congratulate the committee upon the penetrating insight with which General Klein has grasped and expounded the wide range of problems facing the free world of today, the United States and Western Europe especially. His acute analysis of the situation, as well as the clear logic of the conclusions and recommendations which follow, call for real admiration. General Klein's attitude, so definitely and decidedly anticommunistic, is, at the same time, an outstanding example of how American patriotism and true solicitude to safeguard the interest of one's own country can be blended with a deep understanding of the vital needs of other nations.

"With reference to the existing conflict between East and West, while looking for any element of strength which might be in favor of the West and trying to find the most practical and economical means of put-

ting it into best use, General Klein rightly stresses the possibilities in this respect of a potential force at hand in the masses of exiles from countries now under Soviet domination, especially Poles. His recommendation No. 13, concerning anti-Communist exiles and refugees, proves how fully he understands our situation and deserves our true appreciation and real gratitude."

Secretary of the Air Force Talbott described the Klein report as "really a fascinating report" and he added "I marvel at the amount of work which was covered in such a short time."

Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, one of General Klein's former war commanders and one of our country's most distinguished naval heroes, in the spirit of John Paul Jones and Admiral Dewey, wrote:

"First, I congratulate General Klein on such a complete and accurate account of affairs in Europe; and

"Second, let me state that I am in accord with General Klein's observations and recommendations—particularly as regards—

"(a) The unfortunate practice of by-passing our Ambassadors abroad; and

"(b) Our unfortunate habit of talking abroad by visitors who are not responsible for the executive branch of our Government."

Excerpts from the observations of Assistant Secretary of State I. W. Carpter, Jr., are of interest:

"I have read those portions which are most closely related to the administration of the Foreign Service and its relationship with other agencies of the Government. I am confident that the observations which General Klein has made will be useful to the Department in considering the development of our future plans for the administration of the Foreign Service.

"I found it especially gratifying to note General Klein's commendation of the success which marked Ambassador Hughes' program to effect saving through judicious personal and administrative revisions. In connection with this, I am glad to report that the officer who was principally responsible for assisting Ambassador Hughes in the administrative aspects of the United States mission to NATO and European Regional Organizations, Edward C. Crouch, has recently joined the staff of the Department as Director of the Office of Budget. I am confident that Mr. Crouch's previous experience in various Foreign Service assignments will pay us real dividends in achieving a better administrative organization here in our Washington headquarters.

"I believe the committee will also be pleased in the near future with the Department's plans to revitalize the Foreign Service Institute and strengthen the training program for its Foreign Service officers. Definite announcement of these arrangements will be made shortly.

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"You have probably noted in the President's recent message to the Congress that the administration is proposing to improve the salary levels of officers and employees of the Foreign Service at the same time that the general pay scale for other Federal employees is revised.

"I have mentioned a few of the steps which are already underway to accomplish some of the goals outlined in General Klein's report. Other portions of this study will be given careful consideration in the Department.

"On Mr. Hoover's behalf, I should like to thank the committee for its courtesy in sending him a copy of this report."

Assistant Secretary of the Army Hugh M. Milton stated that General Klein in his report had "indeed focalized the attention of the committee, as well as the American people, on some very important facets of international affairs." He said that he was "impressed with its very factual approach and its comprehensiveness," and added, "No doubt the committee has received many commendations on the thoroughness of this report."

United States Information Agency Director Theodore C. Streibert, referring to the section of the Klein report which concerned his department, commented:

"We are glad to have these constructive recommendations and suggestions, and to the extent that they fall within our own powers we will give them the most careful and thorough consideration."

Ambassador John C. Hughes, the United States permanent representative to the North Atlantic Council, commenting on the Klein report, said:

"It is a most comprehensive one and makes most interesting reading, particularly to those of us here who have been faced with the many problems and situations which are so clearly set forth."

Pulitzer-prize-winning journalist, pioneer radio newscaster, and one-time assistant to Bernard Baruch, Herbert Bayard Swope, stated of the Klein report:

"I am impressed by the clarity, interest, and importance of General Klein's thought and its expression. Congratulations."

One of America's most distinguished soldier-statesmen, Gen. John Hildring, commented:

"It is an excellent document. I hope they do something with it."

Capt. Edward Hayes, past national commander of the American Legion and Chicago civic leader, said of the Klein report: "It not only analyzes with amazing clarity the complex European political scene, but even more important, it contains recommendations for the welfare of our country which should be carefully studied by every American in high office charged with the planning and execution of our Government's policy. I sincerely hope that the Klein report is followed through and not allowed to collect dust in a Government file."

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I hope that the executive departments—Defense, FOA, State, Commerce, and others—will also study this report. Much that General Klein has recommended can be accomplished administratively. Some legislation may be needed. I hope where this is merited the departments concerned will forward their recommendations to the Congress for action.

Let me conclude by stating that I am certain that I bespeak the thoughts of many Members from both sides of the aisle in expressing our appreciation to General Klein for a job well done.

I believe reports which are made by volunteer assistants and people who have devoted a lifetime to the study of operations, and who know how to express themselves once they have completed their investigations and ascertained the facts, constitute valuable contributions to the successful operation of the committees of Congress, which are attuned to the responsibilities for the enactment of legislation and the appropriation of money.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to receive a copy of the report to which the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] has referred, namely, the so-called Klein mission report, which was written by Gen. Julius Klein as a result of his special assignment by a subcommittee of the Senate.

I also received a summary of the recommendations contained in the report. I received that summary from the Foreign Operations Administration, with a covering letter from the executive secretary of the Foreign Operations Administration.

There are several items in the report which merit very careful consideration. In fact, the whole report offers food for thought and constructive suggestions for use by Congress and the executive branch of the Government.

I take particular joy in mentioning the report of General Klein because I have known this fine American for a number of years. I recall first meeting him in the city of St. Paul when he was the commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States and when I served as mayor of Minneapolis. I have had a personal friendship with him ever since that day. I have welcomed his advice and counsel on many issues, even

though I must say in all candor that our politics are not exactly alike, he being a rather vigorous Republican, and I, I hope, can qualify as a full-fledged Democrat.

General Klein enjoys the good will and respect of both Democrats and Republicans. After I had read the report, I suggested to General Klein that he move into the Democratic Party. He did not accept the suggestion. I decided to judge the report on its merits.

I should like to refer to a few items in the report. First of all, Mr. President, I believe the recommendation concerning the role of American Ambassadors abroad, and the duties that should be assigned to them, is very helpful indeed and very sound. For example, General Klein recommended:

(a) That we redefine, especially for the governments of foreign countries, the functions and responsibilities of our Ambassadors, reinvesting these officials with the primary authority they should properly exercise in countries where they are stationed.

I am sure the basis for the recommendation is the confusion which must confront foreign countries in the face of our having Ambassadors and other representatives stationed in their countries representing various agencies of our Government.

I take note of the fact that the present occupant of the chair, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] has on several occasions in the Senate appropriately and, I may say, pointedly, referred to the difficulties that are encountered in our foreign-aid programs and in our foreign policy itself because we have several persons in various foreign capitals who hold the rank of ambassador.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator's comment is interesting, because it is not only confusing to Americans in the administration of their affairs abroad, but it causes a certain bewilderment among officials of foreign governments in wondering what American official they should deal with. It is a situation which could be very easily corrected.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is correct. I should like to say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I believe the second part of the recommendation of the Klein report is something that the Senate will be discussing very shortly if it agrees to

dissolve the Foreign Operations Administration at the end of the present fiscal year.

I am sure the presiding officer has strong feeling on the importance of tying in more closely the operations of our Government abroad with our established representation in foreign countries.

General Klein further suggested:

(b) That we broaden the jurisdiction of our ambassadors and provide them with the necessary staffs to permit them to assume actual and final authority for cultural, economic, informational, and other activities now being carried on in countries where they are stationed by other agencies, thus permitting substantial savings in our total overseas program by reduction or elimination of agencies whose functions would be absorbed by the embassies.

His final recommendation in this connection is:

(c) That assignment of United States missions to deal with specific European problems be held to the minimum required by clearly discernible emergency situations.

General Klein visited only the countries of Europe. However, as the Foreign Operations executive secretary noted in his transmittal letter to me:

Although his trip was through Europe, several of his conclusions and recommendations involve United States activities in other parts of the world, and many would appear to apply equally in other regions.

The Klein report makes reference to specialized training, or training in the field of science and technology.

I quote from what General Klein reports:

Military experts and educational authorities are concerned over the Soviets' known emphasis on the training of Russian youth in science and technology. The gravity with which they regard this situation leads me to recommend:

(a) That steps be taken at the earliest moment to maintain our country's lead in the development of trained scientific and technological personnel.

(b) That a high-level conference of military authorities and educators be called for the purpose of devising a program, similar to the World War II plan that utilized educational facilities for meeting military specialists needs, to initiate the training of scientific and technological manpower required for future security needs.

(c) That such a program be sufficiently flexible to allow for the productive integration of those selected for training in the Nation's peacetime industrial facilities, as well as for the specialized military service that would be expected of them.

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4. RECOMMENDATION FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

For all its defects and shortcomings in the face of Communist obstructions and intransigence, the United Nations continues to offer a forum of world opinion before which the free world and the dictatorships can be judged by the ordinary peoples of the earth. For many millions of people, the United Nations still represents an instrumentality for striving to avert the threat of a world war. In Europe, it is regarded hopefully if not optimistically.

I therefore recommend that United States policy continue to aim at strengthening the United Nations. The alternative would be to concede, in effect, that international disputes cannot be settled by peaceful means.

Let us remember, however, that the League of Nations lost the confidence of world opinion because of its failure to deal firmly with the aggression in Ethiopia. The United Nations cannot safely ignore repeated violations of international law and its own obligations without forfeiting the confidence of free peoples.

Mr. President, whether or not we agree in full with the recommendations, the fact is that the concern which this report demonstrates over the inadequacy of our present educational program for the training of specialists—scientists and technicians—is one that we in Congress must take under serious consideration.

There is a definite need that something be done to improve the situation in our higher educational establishment for the recruitment and training of qualified people in the field of science and technology and, indeed, in other fields as well.

I shall not take the time of the Senate to go through these recommendations one by one. I do feel that the recommendations and conclusions should be studied very carefully, particularly by the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, by the members of the Committee on Armed Services, and by the members of the Committee on Appropriations.

I have had the privilege of studying these recommendations. I commend his United Nations recommendations most highly.

I wish to call particular attention to some thoughts that General Klein expresses with regard to offshore procurement. This is an area in which we need to do some rethinking. His recommendations in that field certainly merit our favorable consideration.

The emphasis on the overseas information program contained in the report is in line with what I said earlier today about the inadequacy of what we are doing and the importance of stepping up our efforts and coordinating them on a much more systematized basis.

I call attention particularly to the suggestion in the report that our overseas information personnel be brought home on a regular basis, so that they will be in constant touch with developments in this country.

They should not be stationed overseas for such prolonged periods of time that they lose intimate touch with the local American political scene.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. The point the Senator has touched on, of keeping American representatives in the Foreign Service in close touch with America, is a very pertinent point. They should not be kept overseas for so long a time that they lose their feel for their own country. They should be returned to America so that they may get the feeling for their country that they can get only by being in the country. It is not enough to bring them back for a short visit of a week or two. We should follow through on that recommendation.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire. I point out the fact that today we passed the Foreign Service bill on a voice vote. That bill was considered in the Committee on Foreign Relations and that committee took into consideration the recommendations contained in the Klein report.

Another point that was raised in the report—and I am sure it would be well to follow the suggestion—is the recommendation on the establishment of congressional consultation with American foreign correspondents.

I quote from the report:

Experienced American press and radio correspondents have acquired a fund of knowledge about the personalities and political undercurrents affecting European attitudes and policies which can be of immense value if properly utilized.

He goes on to say in his report:

I, therefore, recommend that appropriate congressional committees consult with a selected number of experienced American press and radio correspondents covering

European capitals. Subject to the consent of their editors, these correspondents should be consulted in executive session so that responsible legislative committees may be in a position to augment normal sources of information about Europe and so obtain a complete and balanced picture of American problems in Europe and the manner in which these problems are being met.

Mr. President, General Klein further makes one particular point about which I have felt keenly for some time, namely, that increased attention should be paid to political opposition parties in Europe while adequate relationships be maintained with the party which is in power in the respective European countries. I feel that the word of caution which is stated is one that would bear very careful consideration by policymakers of our country.

Mr. President, I conclude by simply saying that we find it most helpful in the Congress when private public-minded citizens like General Klein are assigned to tasks of observation and study. I, for one, found this report much more helpful to me than some official reports that we receive. This is not to say, nor should it be so interpreted, that every word, paragraph, suggestion, or recommendation is one with which I would agree, but I do feel that it affords a freshness of approach, and I feel that General Klein should be commended for what I consider to be diligence and perseverance almost beyond the call of duty. He has presented to the Members of the Senate thoughtful patriotic suggestions which should yield significant results in the days to come.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from Minnesota in expressing commendation of General Klein for the very useful and thoughtful report which he has made and which I hope all Members of the Senate will read. In dealing with other nations we have been needing for a long time more viewpoints of individual citizens who have great ability and who can ferret out and get to the bottom of problems so as to improve our relationships with other nations. The mission and the report of General Klein are of that kind.

I had the opportunity of being in Europe last fall when he was there making his study. He did it without fanfare. He went to the bottom of the problems

and secured information not only from diplomats and public officials, but from individual businessmen and citizens.

When I was advised that the Senator from New Hampshire had asked him to make this study and report, I immediately wrote congratulating him, because I knew it would be a useful undertaking.

It has been my pleasure to know General Klein for a number of years, and I know him to be a fine citizen. While he has large private interests, he is always willing to take on an additional public duty, whether compensated for it or not. He has been a friend of mine for a long time, and he is a man in whom I have great confidence.

As has been said by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], General Klein is a Republican, but he has many friends among both Democrats and Republicans. I think it should be pointed out that his report is not a partisan report. Many of the 24 or 25 recommendations are critical of what is taking place. Many of them are critical of the handling of our foreign relations and our military system by the present administration. But they are all backed up by facts which General Klein found.

He has been helpful to the administration in the conduct of its diplomatic affairs and its military missions. So the report will be of continuing benefit, both to the Congress and to the executive department, because it is thorough, well-considered, and forward looking. It lets the chips fall where they may, regardless of whether it pleases the agency being discussed or whether it does not.

Mr. President, I should like to discuss each one of the recommendations, but many of them have been covered by the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from Minnesota. There are 2 or 3 which I should like particularly to discuss. A portion of the report deals with the fact that American officials are handicapped by a lack of coordination between their operations and those of agencies charged with administering the expenditure of American funds abroad.

The report calls for drastic realignment of United States military, economic, and administrative policies and procedures to insure that American manpower and resources are put to maximum use at minimum cost to overcome the Communist threat in Europe.

It charges that in addition to France, Great Britain, and Italy were responsi-

ble in substantial measure for Europe's failure to pool its forces under the EDC plan. The report goes on to warn that the Western European Union substitute for EDC, which permits the maintenance of national armies by the participating countries, faces immense difficulties because of lingering doubts about the course an independently rearmed Germany will pursue in the future.

General Klein, a much-decorated veteran with Pacific combat duty under General MacArthur in World War II and military experience dating back to service on the United States Military Mission to Germany after World War I, was Consultant on National Defense to the Republican National Committee in 1949 and has also served as special adviser to members of the Senate Armed Committee. His study of the European scene led him to warn that "the United States today is the main line of resistance against Communist aggression and although we cannot afford to withdraw from Europe, common considerations of self-interest dictate that the primary emphasis of American military spending be based on our own defense needs."

While advocating maintenance of strong ground and naval forces, the report places special stress on increased appropriations for United States air power, the one military arm in which we cannot afford to be second-best in the world of today. And although the report recognizes a need for prudence to maintain a safe balance between the country's economic resources and its military requirements, it warns that we dare not risk a national epitaph that will read: We could not afford to survive.

The report is sharply critical of United States operations overseas, stressing particularly that there is a need for Congress to be more fully informed about how American money is spent in Europe and whether the objectives for which United States funds have been allocated are being achieved. The report urges that Congress maintain direct contact with American operations in Europe through "a study staff of modest size, made up of professionals appointed by, and responsible to, congressional committees concerned with United States activities in Europe." The proposed "study staff," which is not envisaged as a new agency, would have the limited task of observing and reporting to congressional committees on the degree to

which maximum efficiency and economy are being applied to American programs in Europe. Its authority would not extend to ongoing operations in diplomatic and military fields, nor would it exercise any responsibility in areas within the purview of the executive branch of the Government. One of its primary functions would be to provide comprehensive reports to congressional committees in advance of annual hearings on matters involving the conduct and financing of American overseas programs.

In European countries, where economic needs are a factor, "American money talks louder than American diplomacy," the report asserted, adding:

Unless there is a well-planned, carefully supervised correlation of the two, American statesmanship and American dollars will go for naught.

Foreign Operations Administration missions are operating independently "and not in support of American political objectives." FOA ministers or chiefs of missions meet with ambassadors, but since their primary responsibility is to their parent agency in Washington. Ambassadors, no matter how competent and well informed on political and economic realities in Europe, do not exercise control over FOA officials. The result is that foreign aid funds in many cases are not serving the objectives for which they were originally allocated.

Some American officials in Europe are more inclined to plead European causes in Washington than to further understanding of America's policies in Europe. Thus, while the United States has many admirers of America's individual qualities, "we do not have many friends who are convinced of the rightness of our attitudes and the policies on which they are based."

The United States Foreign Service overseas has fallen into serious disrepair because no serious effort has been made at home to develop a reservoir of trained personnel. Inadequacies in the Foreign Service were largely responsible for the failure of the United States to maintain the flow of information which would have enabled our foreign policy planners to anticipate the French National Assembly's defeat of EDC and to have planned alternative steps accordingly.

American leadership in Europe has suffered because the United States has failed to delineate its foreign policy clearly. Conflicting policy statements by

American political leaders have proven both confusing and alarming to Europe.

The United States information program in Europe requires reorientation. There is a tendency to place more emphasis on American policies than on the interpretation of these policies in terms of Europe's welfare and security.

The report observed that—

It is not enough to tell the ordinary people of Europe what is bad about communism; it is vital to bring home to them what good can accrue to them from democracy.

The report urged decreased emphasis on the encouragement of purely political defections from Communist countries. Instead, it argued, United States appeals should be aimed at scientists, engineers, technicians, and industrial managers "whose escape from Communist bondage could serve to weaken the industrial, technological, and economic capacities of the Iron Curtain states."

The West cannot turn its back on political defectors, the report said "but insofar as possible, they should be encouraged to stay and fight Communist tyranny on their native soil."

European economic recovery has reached a stage where American policy must shift from aid to trade and loans instead of grants coupled with increased private overseas investment. In addition, the report said, there is a need for safeguards to protect American industry engaged in defense production and American business and labor suffering from economic contractions in the United States. American policy, the report held, must be flexible enough to protect American industry where needed and to permit lifting of temporary trade restrictions once depressed segments of the American economy have recovered sufficiently to hold their own in competitive markets.

Lack of coordination in American purchasing programs in Europe, including such operations as offshore purchasing, has been costly to the United States in waste, duplication, and overlapping because of failure to make use of experienced agencies such as the General Services Administration.

Failure by the United States to meet the challenge of Government-subsidized foreign shipping and airlines is hampering the further development of United States maritime and air-transport facilities, vital alike to the Nation's peacetime economy and as needed auxiliaries

to United States naval and air forces in time of emergency.

Principal recommendations of the report called for increased military self-reliance by the United States, consolidation of American overseas operations, greater centralization of administrative functions and the adoption of policies to encourage Western European nations in seeking solutions to their own military and economic problems.

The report also recommends that Gen. Douglas MacArthur's views be invited by both our highest policymaking authorities and appropriate congressional committees to aid in the shaping of a consistent, clearly formulated global defense policy for the United States.

A high-level conference of United States military authorities and educational leaders to devise a program for insuring America's lead in the development of trained scientific and technological manpower. The report called attention to the World War II plan that utilized American educational facilities in the training of military specialists and urged adoption of a similar program now "in view of Soviet Russia's known emphasis on the training of Russian youth in science and technology." The report points out that Russian schools are graduating scientists and technicians at a rate of more than 2½ to 1 over American educational institutions.

Recommendations for an overhauling of American administrative and diplomatic procedures overseas are these:

Centralization in actual practice of cultural, economic, and informational activities under American Ambassadors in Europe. Many of these functions, hitherto exercised by special missions and Federal agencies, would be turned over to the Ambassadors "with the aim of effecting substantial savings in our total overseas program." The report held that coordination of these activities by Embassies would make for greater effectiveness in the conduct of American diplomacy. At the same time, the report urged that "the assignment of United States missions to deal with specific European problems should be held to the minimum required by clearly discernible emergency situations."

Revitalization of the United States Foreign Service through development of a reservoir of trained Foreign Service personnel. The report called for reevaluation of existing salary levels, the bor-

rowing of skilled specialists from private American business, cultural and educational institutions for reviving the Foreign Service Institute as an institution on a par with such establishments as the Army, Navy, and National War Colleges.

Increased attention by United States diplomats and congressional committees on overseas surveys to the views of European opposition parties, which can be a valuable source of information of European policy trends. The instability of some European governments, the report points out, makes it apparent that it is a mistake to gage European opinion solely by the views of parties in power at the moment. Thus adequate sampling of French political opposition might have forewarned the United States in advance of French opinion trends on such issues as EDC and Western European Union.

Communist Parties in Italy and France, the largest Red organizations west of the Iron Curtain, can be expected to wage the bitterest last-ditch resistance against any efforts to bring about effective participation by these countries in the defense of Western Europe.

Meanwhile, the report stresses, it would be a mistake to overlook the apprehensions of millions of non-Communist Europeans over the prospect of German rearmament. A primary obligation of the United States and her western allies, the report said, "is to see to it that the new German Army becomes the servant and not the master of the German Government and that limitations and controls on the German military establishment, as set forth in the Brussels Pact, are adhered to faithfully."

General Klein's report merits the closest study by committees of the Congress and by executive officers of the Government. His recommendations, wherever possible, should be followed to their conclusion and the report should not be allowed to be simply filed away without the most careful study of the findings contained therein. Reports such as General Klein's can serve a useful purpose for our country. He, indeed, has earned the appreciation of the Senate Appropriations Committee for his efforts.

Another portion of the report deals with something about which we have been hearing much recently, namely, that an attempt should be made to increase the interchanges of visitors between the United States and foreign countries. General Klein found that the

average citizens with whom he talked in other countries knew little about Americans; and what they knew was based on misconceptions often exploited by the Communists themselves. He said that these adverse impressions were not softened by the visits of the more affluent American tourists, who can afford free-spending vacations.

So in the report he recommends:

First, the intensification of the interchange-of-persons program at all levels.

Second, the encouragement of European tourist and business travel to the United States through cooperation with the established American travel industry.

Third, the reexamination of existing law with a view toward facilitating and expanding foreign travel to the United States.

Fourth, an evaluation of the present exchange student and foreign visitors program to ascertain whether the Nation is receiving the fullest possible benefits from it.

The report has been widely commented upon in the press, and usually the comments have been favorable. There may be some parts of it with which I do not agree; but certainly it presents a fresh, unbiased, and well-considered view.

I am thankful that there are citizens unconnected with public life upon whom we can call to make inquiries of this kind. I hope more such inquiries can be made in the future, because it is necessary to have more of the person-to-person approach in our diplomacy and dealings with other nations.

I congratulate the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire and others who were responsible with him for making this mission and study possible. I think much has been contributed to the realm of our knowledge of what is taking place in Europe, and of how we can better further the objectives in which all are interested.

Mr. BRIDGES. I thank the distinguished Senator from Tennessee. I think the report has highlighted various matters which should receive the attention of some of the committees of the Senate. Some of the recommendations have been adopted since the report was made.

I agree with two things the Senator has mentioned, particularly the necessity of improving travel facilities. Many Americans who travel abroad

carry the message of the American way of life, and at the same time they spend much American money abroad. But it is certainly to our interest to have visitors from other lands come to the United States. In my own State of New Hampshire, in particular, one of the largest groups of visitors have come across the border from Canada. Recently, when I was in North Carolina, I was very much interested to observe the large number of Canadians who were visiting there.

So not only can the interchange of travelers effect a better understanding of our country, but it can also be an asset to the United States to have foreign visitors come here.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I thank the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire. The fact that there is such an extensive interchange of visitors between the United States and Canada, because it is so easy to travel from one nation to the other, has done much to make for a better understanding between the two nations and to bring about what I suppose is the most cordial and friendly relationship which has ever existed between two great countries.

I know that sometimes there is opposition to allowing, perhaps even people from behind the Iron Curtain to come to the United States; but it has been proposed that there should be an interchange of farmers between the United States and Soviet Russia.

I think that if it can be made possible for the people of other nations to see the United States and to get a good picture of it, we need have no fear of the kind of impression they will receive once they have observed America and the conduct of American public affairs.

I hope that in revising our laws to make easier the exchange of visitors and students, these recommendations will be given close and serious consideration.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues, the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] and the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], in congratulating Brig. Gen. Julius Klein for the able and illuminating report he has made with respect to the problems which confront the United States in its relationship with other countries.

When I was Assistant Secretary of War for Air, under Secretary Patterson, General Klein was Secretary Patterson's

special representative. He and I got along with each other extremely well. I was much impressed with his ability and his desire to serve the United States.

Later, when I became Secretary of the Air Force, General Klein was adviser to me, and in that capacity he always showed fine ability and deep understanding with respect to the problems of the military, and their relationship to the civilian economy, and to civilians in general.

As I remember, last March, at the time the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire and I were on a bi-partisan trip in Europe, we found in one of the capitals of Europe five persons from the United States having the rank of Ambassador. In the course of his report General Klein points up how ridiculous that type and character of foreign representation can be, so far as the best interests of the United States are concerned.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. I recall the incident to which the distinguished Senator from Missouri has referred. I remember the five persons holding the rank of Ambassador. Although they were all good men, and all were performing proper functions, I think there was no question in the mind of the distinguished Senator from Missouri or of myself that their duties somewhat overlapped. Certainly there was bewilderment on the part of the officials of that country, and of other countries, as to whom they were dealing with, or the proper sphere in which each Ambassador operated. The condition was brought home to me very vividly, and it is for that reason that I now recall the situation which the Senator from Missouri has described.

Mr. SYMINGTON. The distinguished Senator from New Hampshire may remember that one of the highest officials of the Government of that country told us that at one time he became so confused that he called up one of the five ambassadors to ask with which ambassador he should take up a particular matter.

Earlier this afternoon, on the floor of the Senate, we had the honor of the presence of the United States Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Luce. At the time the distinguished senior Senator from New

Hampshire and I visited Turin, Italy, an overwhelming majority of the members of the union in great Fiat works in that city voted Communist. I was delighted to have Mrs. Luce tell me today that yesterday the vote was reversed, and the majority of the workers in that plant voted anti-Communist. The Fiat plant is, by all odds, the largest in Italy, and possibly the largest in Europe.

Mr. President, when the Senator from New Hampshire and I were in Italy we expressed our concern with respect to the situation which then existed. It is my understanding that General Klein considered it to be very serious. I believe the result shows concentration on his suggestions for certainly the work done by our distinguished Ambassador, Mrs. Luce, in bringing about a cancellation of contracts with companies in which the unions went Communist after they were given orders from the United States, was most effective. It seems to me that if we will follow some of the important recommendations in General Klein's report there will be a better understanding between the United States and other countries. I am sure we can all read and study his report with interest and to our own advantage and the advantage of our country.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. I wish to add a word to what the Senator has said about Italy, and express my pleasure at the reversal at the Fiat plant, which we observed when we were over there. I take this opportunity to commend the American Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Luce, because I believe that she has had a very thorough understanding of the problem in Italy. She had the courage, after sizing up the situation, to take action to carry out her judgment, and, in most cases that I know of, her judgment has been correct.

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator from New Hampshire is entirely correct. He will remember that, with his approval, I inserted in the RECORD a statement he was kind enough to show to me some weeks ago, which evidenced the fact that our Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Luce, was courageous enough to cancel a certain contract, although there was a large cancellation charge, of more than a half million dollars, as I recall it. She was

determined that industrialists of the United States should not place orders for work in plants in Italy which were dominated by Communists. I think the latest action on the part of the industrial workers at Turin indicates that Mrs. Luce's efforts along those lines have been rewarded.

REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Now, Mr. President, at the core of this issue before the Senate today is the subject of the military contributions which can be made by the German Federal Republic to Western European defense.

In the view of the highest military leaders of our own and allied governments, that contribution will prove extremely significant in securing the most effective military posture for the Atlantic nations against Communist aggression.

All peoples realize, of course, that there must never be a resurgence of the type of German militarism which proved so disastrous to the peoples of the world and to the people of Germany itself. We realize, however, that within the outstanding democratic framework which has been achieved in the Federal Republic, thanks to the leadership of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, West German military strength will be a force for peace and freedom, and never for their opposite.

In this connection, I have read with deep interest comments made in a report filed with the Senate Committee on Appropriations by Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, special consultant to the committee's Subcommittee on Armed Services. The report is based upon extensive study which General Klein undertook in September and October 1954, in the course of which he discussed European problems with many of the leading figures in Western Europe. General Klein is, of course, well-known to my colleagues as a former combat soldier, newspaperman, veterans' spokesman, and civic leader, one who has devoted a great deal of time to problems of international relations, notably with respect to Germany.

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I was sorry that I could not be present on the floor at the time my colleagues the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], commented on the numerous significant observations made in his report.

I send to the desk an excerpt from the report, from pages 12 and 13 of the report, entitled "German Rearmament," and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The rearming of Germany poses difficult problems. Unlike the East Germans, Dr. Adenauer's government cannot dip freely into the ranks of former Nazis to officer the new cadres without arousing the most serious apprehensions among Germany's western neighbors. The German military leaders to whom I spoke want an army based on the American model. On this basis, they would adopt the American system of training and the American relationship between enlisted men and noncommissioned and commissioned officers. Even new uniforms would be adopted to complete the break between the new and old German Army traditions. One of the organization plans under consideration is for the establishment of a board of older retired officers, Government officials, and scientists who would pass on all officers accepted for service in the new army. Thus, anyone tainted with nazism would be unacceptable.

Prussian militarism must never return. The United States shares in the responsibility with the other nations in watching the future rearmament of Germany.

History must not repeat itself. In 1919, at the Versailles Conference, Germany was permitted to build the Reichswehr to fight bolshevism. This Reichswehr later was the cadre of Hitler's army.

The new German Army must never become a political factor and must only serve the state. The United States and the treaty powers must use all safeguards that never again will German military might become a threat to peace or be used as an instrument of aggression.

The German Army must become a part of the Western World for the defense of the democracies and must remain a part of the NATO system of mutual security against Communist and possible Fascist aggression in the future.

I continue to hold grave reservations about German rearmament in view of ultranationalist sentiment that still exists in Germany, particularly since those who hold these views are now to be found arguing

for a German accommodation with Soviet Russia. The one mitigating factor I can see is that the terms under which German rearmament is to be accomplished provide for quantitative limitations on German forces and controls on the type of armaments Germany is to produce. If we are to achieve a needed German military contribution to the western community without undermining and ultimately destroying the painstaking efforts Western statesmen, including Chancellor Adenauer, have made to develop a free, democratic climate in Germany, it is essential that the agreed-upon factors governing German rearmament be adhered to faithfully.

In discussing Germany's participation in the new European Defense Community with former German Regular Army Generals Speidel and Heussinger, I was impressed with their view that the old-style German Army must never come back. Speidel and Heussinger participated in the famous putsch of July 20, 1944, against Hitler, when most of their coconspirators were executed by Hitler's hangman. The end of the war and liberation by the Allies saved Speidel and Heus-

singer from the same fate. If there is to be a Germany Army controlled by a civilian head and responsible to the Parliament then no better men could have been chosen for this task than these two anti-Hitler rebels who openly expressed their shame over Hitler's terrible crimes against humanity—a stain that will remain forever on the German Army which became a willing tool of Hitler with the noble exception of such leaders as Witzleben, Stauffenberg, Goerdeler, Schlabrendorff, and hundreds of others who fought Hitler until the bitter end. To this group the present leaders of the new German Army belong.

A dilemma confronting the Adenauer government is that it took office amid Allied insistence that Germany must write finis to its militaristic past. Now, after having been chided for its military tradition, Germany is told that it is moral and necessary to take up arms once more. This has proved specially confusing to the younger people who came to maturity through World War II defeat and in the period of Allied strictures—and intense propaganda—against militarism.